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QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
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KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
Late and Present M-----RY
COMPARED.

WITH AN
IMPARTIAL REVIEW
OF

Public Transactions since the Resignation of
the RIGHT HONOURABLE the EARL
of ORFORD; and of the Causes that
immediately effected the same.

To which is added,

REMARKS on the FARTHER REPORT
of a certain COMMITTEE.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

*Tempus erit Turno magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum PALLANTA & cum SPOLIA ista Diemque
Oderit.*
VIRGIL.

L O N D O N:

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S I R,



S I am entirely *convinced* of the *Integrity* of your Intentions, I will, as you desire, open myself without any manner of *Reserve* upon the Subject we talk'd of when I had last the Happiness of your Company.

You know I enter'd very early in Life upon *Public Business*, and continued as long in it as I could continue with *Honour*; that is, as long as my *Principles* and *Conscience* would suffer me. I have since amused myself as a *Spe&ctator* of the *Scenes* in which I used to *act*; I have watch'd the *Agents* by which *they were shifted*, and I have attended so nearly to the Propriety of Characters and Conduct in all the political Farces that were acted during the late long Administration, that I now see the winding-up of the whole with

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as much *Coolness and Indifference* as others gaze upon it with *Surprize and Astonishment*.

This *Character* may without Vanity, I think, entitle me to offer my Advice to you and your Friends upon the short Question you put to me the other Night. I mean, “ Whether the Causes of the late Opposition “ now cease to exist ? ”

For this Purpose, I shall not enter into any long Review of the Principles and Conduct of the late Opposition. Those Points have been so fully discussed in many Papers and Pamphlets, publish'd during the late Administration, that it is sufficient for me to hint, that *in fact*, the Conduct of the new Administration has, during the short Time they have been in play, been such as must call for all the Vigilance of your Jealousy. The Jealousy of Power in a Man who would serve his Country honestly and successfully is always *laudable* ; and, I speak it with a *melancholly Concern*, at the present Juncture it appears to be *necessary*.

In order to prove this I shall advance only such Facts as are consistent with your own Knowledge, but shall draw Consequences from these Facts which may not fall so immediately under the Observation of one who
has

has been so lately acquainted with public Business as yourself.

The late Opposition was composed of two Sets of Men, *knavishly* and *foolishly* distinguish'd by the Names of *Old Whigs* and *Tories*; but so far as I can understand, from the *Actions* and *Conversations* of Both, the only Difference consisted in the former laying down as a Maxim, That in order to destroy the late Minister, whom they look'd upon as a very *bad one*, it was necessary *indiscriminately* to oppose all his *Views* and *Measures*, and never to divide among themselves upon any Measure that could distress him: This is a Maxim if not *strictly* yet *politically just*.

The other Gentlemen, who go under the Name of *Tories*, stuck to the *strict Justice of Conduct*; but it happen'd, *fortunately* for both, the Measures of the late Administration were so blameable, that few or no Instances happen'd during the *long Term of twenty Years*, in which every Act of Opposition was not only *politically* but *strictly just*.

The first Instance in which these two Characters seem'd to be distinct, was in the Case of the famous Motion. I shall not enter into the Dispute, whether the last mention'd Class of Gentlemen were or were not strictly

justificable in their deserting the former, but I will venture to say, that the ill Success which that Question met with in the House begot a Security in the Minister which occasioned his Removal.

When the Writs were issued out for the present Parliament, very few People, I believe, were of any other Opinion but that the Minister would have a greater Majority in the succeeding Parliament than he had in the one then just ended. But it happen'd unfortunately for him, that the War with *Spain*, and the great Drains of Treasure by the expensive Expeditions to *America*, had exhausted the *Exchequer* to such a Degree, that, I am credibly inform'd, there was not at the Time of the Commencement of the late Elections, a hundred thousand Pounds in the Treasury. But the fruitful Head of the Minister would have found the Want of Money easily supply'd, had it not been that he was deceiv'd in imagining, that the bad Success of the Motion was an Indication of the People's Affection to his own Administration; and of their Aversion to those who push'd it. This induced him to conclude, that while they were in the Humour they wou'd not only return all his Friends who stuck by him in the Motion, but turn out those

those who were most forward in its Favour. He was deceiv'd ; the Nation indeed laugh'd at the two Parties who had, upon that Occasion, split ; but this did not at all diminish their Aversion to his Person and Measures.

Another Mistake he fell into was that of imagining, that the Tories, as they are called, by leaving the Whigs, discover'd an Aversion both to the Company and the Principles of the Whigs. It is true, that the former did not much like the Manner in which that *Question* was introduced, nor the *Person of the Man* who made THE MOTION. Perhaps they were glad of an Opportunity to shew the Whigs how little Importance they were in the House, and what a ridiculous Figure they made in the Nation when they stood by themselves. But still the Tories never lost Sight of the Opposition, and their Behaviour upon that Occasion was, I believe, one Reason why they made a Point of bestirring themselves in the most effectual Manner in the following Elections.

The Election for Members in *Westminster* was the first Struggle which gave People Room to apprehend that the next Parliament would be more unfavourable than the former. But what did the Gentlemen who compose the present Ministry do upon that Occa-

Occasion? Why! tho' most of them were Inhabitants and Electors of *Westminster* themselves, and many of them were upon the Spot, yet they not only gave no Assistance to the Gentlemen who managed the Opposition to the Court, but some of them gave their Interest against them. The Tories indeed bestirred themselves more; they gave all the Assistance they could against the old Members, who, for all that, must have carried the Election, and been still sitting in the House, had it not been for their own and their Returning-Officer's Blunders.

Soon after the Opposition of *Westminster*, Things began to look with a very ill Aspect upon the M——r; the Royal Presence withdrawing out of *Great Britain* was no very favourable Incident to him; and the Action at *Carthagena*, as we had it by our first Accounts, gave great Spirit to the Opposition, who distinguish'd themselves by their Attachment to Admiral *Vernon*: In short, several very untowardly Circumstances for him happen'd to fall out during the very Crisis of the general Election.

But the Returns which effected the great Revolution that lately happen'd, were those from *Scotland* and *Cornwall*. From the first Place, the Country-Party, never almost since
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the Union, return'd above four or five Members at most, out of forty five; and the Obsequiousness of the other to the Court became proverbial. But the Duke of *A---le* and his *R----- H-----*; bestirred themselves so effectually in both Places, that a Majority from both were return'd against the Court. This unexpected Turn brought Matters pretty near to an Equality in the House upon the first Sitting of Parliament, tho' both Sides were so very confident of Success that each reckon'd upon twenty of Majority.

The Address upon the Speech from the Throne was, however, in so general Terms that perhaps they began to think, that the *M-----r* did not care to venture a Division till he had purged the House upon the controverted Elections. The first of these was that of *B-----y*; and from the Earnestness which the Party behaved with in that Affair, with the wide Stretches which were made in it, it was very easy to perceive what Justice was to be expected in the Determination of those Elections that remained to be controverted, if the Majority for the Court continu'd. However, as this Point was carried by but a very inconsiderable Number, it remain'd still a Doubt in what Manner Things might turn out in the main. The next Trial
which

which the Parties made of their Strength, was in the Affair of chusing a C———n of the C———tee of E———ns. But here the M———r committed a fatal Blunder for himself. For in that ticklish Situation of Affairs, he ought to have stuck as much as possible to *personal* Merit; instead of that, he had nothing in view but *political*. By this I mean, he ought to have set up a Man, who, by the Consideration of his personal Merit with the other Party, might have determin'd a few among them to have joined him; this is what is always found in Parliament, where two or three, or more, will, from a personal Regard to a Man's Person, leave his own Party, or at least be neutral in a Motion. But the M———r acted in a quite different Manner; for he put up one of the most unpopular Men in his whole Party against one of the most unexceptionable and best beloved in the other. Therefore the Question was carried against him merely through personal Considerations, the Majority upon the whole being but four.

This was an irretrievable Blow for him. When Men are connected together merely by Motives of Interest, every Man amongst them, who knows his own bad Intentions, looks upon his Neighbour as watching every
Moment

Moment to take Advantage of him, and to make the best Bargain he can for himself with the other Party ; so that Success is the only Principle of their Union. The M-----r however had Address enough to keep them pretty firmly united, but was not able as usual to make any Converts, nor to prevent them from flagging a little both in Zeal and Attendance.

This was evident in the Question upon the Merits of the *Westminster* Election, which was the *next*, and indeed the *decisive* Measure, that gave a Turn to the State of his Affairs. It was a Question purely political on the Side of the Opposition ; by which I mean, that very few or no personal Considerations enter'd into it that could influence the Decision of it in favour of the Petitioners : These were Men of the middling Rank of Life, and destitute of all Support and Countenance from those who were in any Branch of the Civil Magistracy of the City. As to their Candidates, their Merits in a public Sphere were yet untry'd, and consequently their personal Interest to influence so decisive a Vote could not be very considerable. On the other hand, one of the sitting Members had had great Opportunities by long Experience in Business, by long Possession of

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Power,

Power, and the Benevolence of his own Disposition, of making many personal Friends. It was therefore perhaps a little unfortunate for the M——r that the Fate of this Question cou'd not affect that Gentleman's Seat as a Member of Parliament; but as the Question came before the House it was a fair Trial of Interest, not depending upon the Persons of the Candidates but the Power of their Parties:

The fair Merits of the Question were indeed strongly against the sitting Members; but what must these have availed had the Numbers been for them? A Resolution was taken at a certain Board, and had been ratified by a kind of solemn Sanction, *that no Quarter should be given in Elections.* This was the Time for putting this Doctrine in practice. The Public is sufficiently acquainted with the Manner in which that Election had been carried on, therefore I shall take no other Notice of the Reasons against it than by observing, that strong and unanswerable as they were, the then M——r declar'd, that since ever he had the Honour of sitting in that House he had never known one Instance in which the Merits of any Election had been so clearly proved in favour of the sitting Members.

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The Question however went against him by the same Majority as before in the C———n of E———ns, and a thundering Set of Resolutions were agreed to against the Returning-Officer, who was indeed guilty and punished, but not near so much as they who, by sending for the military Power, had set a Precedent for destroying the Constitution itself deserv'd.

As these Resolutions contain'd a Declaration of the greatest Breach which it is possible for this Constitution to suffer, it was generally imagin'd that the Offenders would be punish'd in the most signal Manner. It was more reasonable to expect this, as that House was known but a Session ago to proceed in the most inexorable Manner against one or two petty Offenders, for no other Crime than that of printing and publishing a * Paper, containing a few Facts which were aggravated into Blasphemy against the Minister. Though the Truth of the Facts were as demonstrable as any Proposition in *Euclid*, yet a severe and *unremitted* Punishment was inflicted upon all who were found to have the least Concern in that Affair. Was it not therefore natural to think, when so deep, so permanent a Violation was

* See Votes of the House.

offer'd to this Constitution, and declar'd to be so in the strongest Terms by Parliament, that some Example should have been made of the Authors, sufficient to deter others from so easy and so quick a Method of putting an End to the *Freedom of all Elections*.

But now the Scene began to be alter'd : *Then* it was easy to foresee that a *Crisis* must soon follow. The Appearance of the Offenders at the Bar of the House was put off for a Month, and during that Time the *Heads of the Then Opposition* began to perceive very *plainly* that they had a Chance of soon becoming *Ministers themselves*, and therefore they consider'd how *prudent* it might be, for *them* to set such a Precedent as to punish any notorious Infraction on our Liberty, *even after it was declar'd so by Parliament*. Accordingly, when the Session was resum'd, and that Matter came to be under the Deliberation of the House, a very surprising Coolness appear'd. None of those thundering Invectives against the Effects of Standing-Armies, and arbitrary Measures, supported by military Force, were now heard ; when the Affair came to be discuss'd, even the *bold Sempronius* became an Advocate for *Lenity and Moderation*, and the Men who were declar'd to be the *Violators*

tors of their Country's Liberties, and the Subvertors of the Rights of Election, were dismiss'd with an ambiguous Reprimand.

Here, my dear Sir, let us pause, and enter into a little political Philosophy. Before this and some other late Events, I was apt to suspect, that there was somewhat too severe in applying the general Topics drawn from *Ambition, Avarice, Malice, and Envy*, with a thousand other *bad Qualities*, to the Gentlemen in the *Opposition*. I had read and compared the Histories of all Oppositions in this or almost any other Country, and never found any Period in which Opposition was so justifiable as during the Time of the late Administration. As to the *Motives* of it, it was quite indifferent to me on what Principle they were founded, since I was sure that the *End* was good. But how remarkably well has the most *spiteful Predictions* against those who have since come over from the *Opposition* to the Court, been fulfill'd? How *watchful* have they been ever since the near Prospect of their coming into Power presented, of doing the least Thing that might check them from committing the very same Crimes that were so justly charged upon their Predecessors? How careful have they been to retain in their Hands the same unconstitutional

tutional Power of *doing ill*? We shall see, we shall examine, whether they have or not; but we shall examine not with any *Acrimony* or *Prepossession*, but upon Facts undeniable, evident, and proclaim'd by themselves.

Let us therefore, if this shall be made appear, conclude, that the same Opposition does and ought still to subsist; let us consider that the same public Distress continues, and but a few of its Authors varied. But let us while we consider this be animated with a double Spirit of Detestation and Zeal against those who have thus under the Masque of *Patriotism* found Means to do more Hurt than their Predecessors could have effected had they been now in Power.

This is the profess'd End of my writing to you at present. You appeared to be under some Doubt as if upon the Removal of the late Minister the Opposition was at an end. I tell you, *No*. You have now greater, more alarming Reasons for *opposing* than you ever had. Some Changes have been indeed made, but they are Changes that have strengthen'd the Hand, given Weight to the Cause, and enforced the Measures of the late Minister: All the Grievances we felt under him are now continued, some of them with *aggravated* Indignities; and,
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in short, those who have hitherto come into Power are but so many Accessions to the Cause of Corruption and Slavery.

But to proceed in the regular Manner I had propos'd. The late Minister was deceiv'd in imagining that it was in his Power to garble the House. He had not Time to form Cabals for that Purpose, nor had he Money to support them. The Virtue of the People had sent up a Set of new Members who were not so easily managed; these chose rather to espouse the *Bad unknown*, than that which they had known and experienced to be so for a long Tract of Years. And tho' the Dispute between the present Ministry and the old one was a Dispute which at the bottom was founded entirely upon Persons, yet it was carried on with the same *Animosity* as if it had been for an Alteration of Measures and Conduct. This *Animosity* pass'd with the Well-meaning and Unexperienc'd, who form'd the Majority in the House, for *Public Spirit*, and met with a suitable Support. For even though the Choice of the C——n of the C——tee of E——ns went against the Minister, his Party was so secure, whatever Alterations might be made as to a few Persons, that no Alteration could happen so as give them any just Cause

to apprehend the Change wou'd be total, that they gave very little Attendance upon the C——tee of E——ns. This gave the Opposition an Opportunity of having all their strongest Cases of Elections fix'd for early Days; and it was not long before there was a visible and inevitable Prospect of a Majority against the Minister. The Affair of the C——m E——n was the *Coup de Grace* to all his Hopes, and upon a favourable Turn which that Affair took for the sitting Members, he thought fit to retire from the House with a Declaration *that he never intended to return any more*. It was apparent from the Effect which this Retreat had upon his Creatures; they did not imagine that his *Time was so near*, and from his own Behaviour, and that of his Opponents who have since come into Posts, that the Affair had been previously concerted. What put this out of all Doubt was the Resolution enter'd into next Day of adjourning the P——t, which pass'd without the least Opposition.

It was very easy to perceive the Meaning of this Adjournment; and why it was so readily agreed to by the Heads of the one Party after having been proposed by those of the other. There was an Appearance of a Spirit of Liberty, and Independency growing
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ing strong within Doors. No Money, or at least but very little, had been granted ; and should this Spirit have prevail'd, it was fear'd that it might become too unmanageable for the Heads of either Party to subdue, and thus the new M——ry might have succeeded only to an exhausted Exchequer and an empty Name. To prevent this, and to put the favourite screening Scheme in Execution, it was found necessary not to increase the Country-Party too much, by suffering them to receive any new Additions of Strength, which, had the House continued to sit, they might have done by the Decision of *four* or *five Elections* then depending. The Adjournment prevented this ; for the two Parties, before the Adjournment, were so equally ballanced, that the throwing two or three into either Side would have cast the Scale ; and it was rightly judg'd that a little Management during the Interval wou'd easily bring those over. But this happen'd not quite so easy in Practice as in Theory. It was very plain, that all the Concessions made to the M——ry were wrested from them by Force, and that they were resolved not to give up one Inch of Ground that they could maintain. It was likewise evident, that a Division in the Country Party must for the same Reason

be fatal both to the Well-meaning and the Designing, and therefore nothing was so much to be dreaded, especially as they have no manner of Reason to think, that any Misunderstanding that could ever arise might create a Division among the Friends of the late Ministry considerable enough to swell into a Party : All this was prudently foreseen by the Court Interest, while those who call themselves in that of their Country were either amused with the Hopes of seeing a thorough Change of Measures as well as Men, or so blinded by their own Ambition and bad Hearts, as to embrace, without Reserve, the very first Advances that were made, and without any Terms but those of blind Compliance, succeeded to some of the Places and to all the Guilt of the late Ad———tion.

Those first P———ns were plain Indications of the Spirit and Design with which they were made ; the late Minister had observed, that there was one Person whose Unpopularity with the Gentlemen of the Opposition, during the last Session, had been the principal Means of that great Differtion which appear'd from the Interest of the Opposition ; for when it fell to that Gentleman's Share to make the celebrated Motion, about removing

ing him from his M——y's Person and Councils for ever ; he therefore thought that the promoting such a Person would be the readiest Means of disuniting the Interest. On the other hand, that honourable Gentleman was so fond of the Power with which he was so long tantaliz'd, that he catch'd at the Bait, and without remembring what the least Reflection would have suggested, had he ever had any other Aim but Power, I mean, that his Acceptance of any Part previous to any other Person of the Party must be attended with the very worst Consequences : I say, without reflecting on this, or acting in concert with any one Man whom he ought to have regarded, he steps before the rest into the most invidious Places possess'd by the late M——r.

The Business by this was but half accomplish'd. Somewhat else must be done that might make the Tories irreconcilable Foes to the opposing Whigs, and thereby give an irrecoverable Blow to all Opposition, and another Person, the most obnoxious to all Parties and Degrees of any Man in the Kingdom, came in as proper to fill a Place of very considerable Power and Confidence.

Such were the Fruits of this boasted Victory, in which the Vanquish'd, like the old

Parthians, appear'd to have done more Execution in their Retreat than they could have done had they been Masters of the Field. For things were thereby placed on so narrow a Bottom that the late M——r seem'd to have undergone no other Alteration of his Fortunes than being eased of the *Fatigues*, while he enjoy'd all the *Exercise* of Power. Instead of his being obliged to make an immediate Surrender of all his Places and Papers, he was indulged in Time sufficient for making what Dispositions and Alterations he pleas'd in the several Offices wherein he presid'd or directed. And tho' the National Cry for Justice was at that Time loud and untractable, yet he had Leisure sufficient for secreting or destroying all the Evidences that could serve to convict him in case of an Enquiry. In the mean time, every thing was quite unsettled; there was visibly a Plan of Operation concerted, from which no Deviations were to be made; and certain Distinctions impos'd upon all those who were thought to be the Enemies of the late M——r and his Power, from *Principle* rather than *Ambition*.

After the two Posts I have already mention'd were fill'd up, the T———y came next to be consider'd. Here was a fair Field

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to have enforced the boasted Maxims of the late Minority, by abolishing the ruinous Distinctions of Parties. But the World was surpriz'd when it was fill'd up by Persons, of whom a Majority had an immediate and personal Dependence upon one Man, who never was known in his Life publicly to oppose any one Scheme of the late M——r, and who upon this Occasion was put at the Head of the C-----n. The greatest Care at the same time was taken, that no Person shou'd sit at that Board who by his Experience in Business shou'd be capable of detecting any Abuse or Misdemeanour. I know it was said by the Friends of the Gentlemen who had thus taken the Start of all others in hurrying into Posts, that there was a Necessity some People should have it in their Power to destroy certain Prejudices which, by the Art of the late M——r, they apprehended had taken too deep Root; and that this never cou'd be effected unless Gentlemen should accept of such Posts as put them in the Way of removing all such Impressions. This, I own, was at first Sight so very plausible, that a great many, even of the best meaning, were brought over by it not to form any Judgment of the Gentlemen who had *push'd forward*, till they saw in
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what manner they would act. That no manner of Foundation should exist for pretending that any Party made an ungrateful Return for the Concessions that had been made for displacing the Minister, the Tories of all Ranks went to Court, and signified in the strongest Terms their Resolution of serving and supporting the Person and Government of his Majesty. The noble Duke whom I have already mention'd, was very instrumental in effecting this Compliance, and labour'd with such Zeal that he prevail'd with the whole Party to appear at once at Court. But as this Appearance would have been but one ambiguous Testimony of Zeal for supporting the present Establishment, his Grace became their Security by appearing at their Head. This Conduct in a Nobleman so distinguish'd by his Affection to the Principles of the Revolution, and one who upon those Principles has done so much for the present Royal Family, one should think would have been sufficient to induce *others* to imitate his excellent Example, and to have look'd upon the Hour when the late Minister gave up his Power, as the Commencement of a *firm Coalition* of all Parties. Had this immediately taken Effect, we might then have taken Occasion to congratulate the

Nation

Nation upon the Downfal of ministerial Power and Influence ; but except the Removal, which I have already mention'd, in one Office, no other was made. Every little dirty Tool of the late M——r was not only continued, but had Promises made them of Protection and Preferment ; nay, it was notorious, that Terms were made for the most infamous amongst them ; and even the *Prostitutes of the Pen*, whose Posts depended on the Gift of the T———y, had Assurances that they should be continued in their Employments. From this Conduct it was evident, that the Change which had been made was not a Change of *Measures* but of *Men*. Nay, I will venture to say the Nation was so far from reaping any Advantage from it, that it was in a worse Condition than ever, since they who came in were either the Friends of the late Minister, remov'd from an inferior to a superior Rank of Power, or were so many Accessions to his Party.

All those Consequences, though since apparent, had hitherto no better Foundation than Conjecture ; but an Event happen'd at that Time which pointed them more plainly out. The Merchants of the City of *London*, who had suffer'd so much from the scandalous Conduct of the War, thought proper to apply
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to Parliament for Redress. The Allegations they laid down in their Petition were of so flagrant and infamous a Nature that in the Days of our Forefathers they wou'd have serv'd for a Foundation even to *Capital Penalties*. As there is now publish'd an ample Detail of that Matter, I shall only observe, that these Allegations were made out with a Superabundancy of Proof. Hitherto no Dispositions were making for removing the Authors of all this shameful Misconduct : But this Case prov'd so very flagrant, that there was no protecting them any longer. It was very plain, that the late Misconduct was owing not to willful Neglect only, but downright Ignorance ; and that there had been all along at the Head of that B—d a Man *who had out-liv'd all his Abilities as a S——n* ; while the others were such as were totally ignorant of the Business of the Board, or took their Orders from the M——r. It appears likewise, that instead, as it really is, of being an Office which has the most important Department of National Business allotted to itself, and therefore is accountable to the Nation, they look'd upon themselves not as Board of *Direction* but of *Execution*. Tho' but the very Session before, the Right Honourable Gentleman, who was then at the

Head

Head of the Ad——ty, declar'd, That the Minister never intermeddled with the Departments of that Board. Thus they were or were not, an independent Board, just as it cou'd serve the Purpose of their Dictator. While he was to be screen'd, as to his own Person, he took no manner of Concern in the Affairs of the Ad——ty ; when his Conduct was to be vindicated in theirs ; they were obliged to receive their Orders from others. To prevent the like Practices upon like Excuses from ever afterwards taking Place, it was thought proper that Board should be fill'd up with Persons of different Denominations, but all of them in the same Way of Thinking as to the Service of the Nation. But when such a List was propos'd, even after it had been previously stipulated and made the Condition of certain Concessions, it receiv'd Alterations from a Hand *which can alter nothing for the worse*, and therefore we are bound in Duty to leave that Affair in Silence.

I will upon this Head take the Liberty of making only one Observation, which is, That I dare to say no such Alterations had been made if the great Personage who made them had been previously appriz'd of what was stipulated in his Name, or honestly inform'd

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of what would have been most agreeable to the Sense of the Nation.

However, as I have said before, very strong Resolutions with regard to the Neglect of our Maritime Affairs were come to. But these Resolutions were carried apparently and confessedly against the Sense of the new Ministry and their *independent Friend*, who declar'd that he was not for their being so strongly worded ; though, at the same, no Member who heard the Proofs that came out, imagin'd that it was possible to find Words strong enough for an adequate Censure. How different was this Language from what he used on a like Occasion under the late Administration, when his own Resolutions, in the Year 1739, were proposed after a like Examination of Evidence.

But what were the Consequences of the Resolutions that were agreed to ? Do they stand upon their V—s for any other purpose but as so many Monuments to shew that there was a Time when it was proved, to the Conviction of every Man who heard it, that the Honour, the Interest, and Trade of this Nation were basely and scandalously given up to an impotent Enemy in Time of War ; her Sailors and Merchants ignominiously chain'd within loathsome Dungeons, or
forc'd

forc'd to serve against their Country ; and our Enemies suffer'd to insult us in the Sight, and almost under the Cannon of the finest Fleet that, perhaps, ever the World beheld ; and yet ————— all this was done and suffer'd without the Authors being censur'd.

If the Trade of the Nation was willfully neglected, why was not that Neglect punish'd ? If it was not punish'd, what Security can the Nation have against the like Mismanagements for the future ? But how will it sound to future Ages, when it shall appear, that * *Insults were added to Injuries* ; Insults from one of those whose Duty and Post oblig'd him to have been the Protector of our Trade ; Insults from one of our own Officers, one of his Majesty's Servants. The adding *Insults to Injuries* was, I remember, taken notice of some Years ago with a becoming Warmth in a Speech made by a Right Honourable Gentleman to his Majesty at the End of a Session of Parliament, as the most aggravating Circumstance that could induce his Majesty to enter into a War abroad ; yet we see that very Conduct repeated, and repeated with Impunity at home.

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Leaving

* *It is your own War, and you must take it for your Pains.* (See Mr. GLOVER's *Speech*, p. 52.)

Leaving this Head, I proceed to another, which amounts to a Demonstration of what I propose to prove, *viz.* that the Causes of Opposition still exist, which is the great and affected Care which the Gentleman who succeeded the late M———r in one of his Posts took, that no Petitions upon controverted El——ns should be heard after a certain Day. This was expressly telling the World, “ I am
 “ afraid that the P———t may become
 “ too independent ; I am afraid that a Spirit
 “ may prevail in the House which may pre-
 “ vent my Screening Scheme, and therefore
 “ I am resolv’d not to have any more Elec-
 “ tions determin’d in favour of the Country
 “ Interest ” I say, the Zeal by which the honourable Gentleman supported his Motion was a plain Proof that this was the Language of his Heart, and the Consternation into which this Motion threw one Part of the House, join’d to the visible Triumph of others who were in the Secret, were plain Indications that Promises had been made, that Things should not proceed beyond certain stipulated Bounds.

I know it was said by the Right Honourable Gentleman and his Friends upon this Occasion, that it had been always customary not to admit of any such Petitions after a certain
 Time ;

Time ; but I should be glad to know why that Time was anticipated *this* Year ? Why was it not suffer'd to elapse ? Why in such a Hurry ? Besides, was no Regard to be paid to the Crisis, none to the Circumstances of the Conjunction, none to the doubtful Situation of Parties, which gave the Friends of the late M———r so fair an Opportunity of screening him ? Could the Constitution, could the Liberties of the People, or even the Forms of the House, have suffer'd had that Resolution not been made ? Might they not all of them have been endanger'd by making it, had not certain favourable Conjunctions, which the new Ministry did not foresee, happen'd ?

The Refusal of Papers was, by the Opposition to the late M———r, always accounted one of the greatest Hardships they labour'd under, since it was from them alone that any positive Evidence could be brought of his being the Author of all the Mismanagements which were so frequent in our Negotiations with Foreign Courts, and in the Conduct of the War. The melancholly Situation of the House of *Austria*, together with the visible Aversion which a certain *German* Prince, nearly allied by Blood to his Majesty, had for entering into any manner of Terms with us
for

for checking the Power of *France*, were strong Reasons for presuming, that some very disagreeable Step had been taken in prejudice of that Prince. The Plan for a P——on of his Territories, which was wickedly conceal'd, and foolishly discover'd by the late M———r, had not yet taken Air; nor was it yet known, that we had by our ridiculous Conduct in that Affair forfeited much of our Credit with another Northern P———te, on whom a great deal at present depends. However, enough was known to be sufficient Grounds for believing that there was something *rotten in the State*.— A Motion for Papers was agreed to, after a long Debate, and a Defeat which the Country Party met with upon a Motion for an Enquiry into the Conduct of the M———r. By the Party of the M———r not daring to divide upon the last Motion, after they had just carried the former by a Majority of but *three*, and when some Gentlemen in the Minority were gone off, it was very evident, that when the Question was upon the Papers of the M———r, *a Point was made and carried*; but when it related to a personal Application, which might put his Master under Inconveniences with regard to his Answer, the Question was dropt.

This

This was a glaring Instance of the M—r's Partiality in favour of himself; and Disrespect to his Master; for when the Answer in Consequence of that Address was return'd, it appear'd to be such as in some Periods of our History would have been far from satisfying a distrustful, diffident, Jealous, enquiring H—e of C——ns.

However, not to push this tender Point too far, I will only sum up a few general Reflections and such as are evident to every Man of Common Sense, and leave you to apply them in the best manner you can to the Question in hand.

Motions for Papers, as I have already observ'd, were the favourite Topics in the late Opposition. Now supposing that each Motion which the Nation and the Minority so loudly complain'd for being rejected had been agreed to by the H—e, but rendered ineffectual from another Quarter; What must have been the Consequence? To be sure, Addressees to know by whose Advice such Answers were return'd. For the Minority always laid it down as a Constitutional Maxim, that all Answers from the C——n were the Answers of the M——r. That all the Measures of the C——n were the Measures of the M——r; and that all
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the Secrets of the C-----n were the Secrets of the M-----r. In consequence of these notorious and a thousand times repeated Principles, was it not evident that all Excuses for baffling a P-----ry Address, thro' whatever Medium they proceed are Excuses of the M-----r, and ought to be regarded as such? If these Excuses are founded upon *the Prejudice which such a Compliance may do to the Public,* is not the P-----t better Judge of that than a M-----r. If upon its Inconsistency with the Confidence repos'd in the Government by other Princes, is not a Secret Committee of a H-----se of C-----s as much to be trusted with any Secrets of that Kind as any M-----r or Number of M-----rs, or any other Body of Men, perhaps Clerks of Offices, Underlings, &c. who are employ'd to examine the Fitness of complying with such an Address, and which they can do no otherwise than by inspecting the very Papers which are deny'd to the Great Council of the Nation?

Such are the Arguments that have been again and again repeated by the Minority; but how did some Gentlemen of that Minority act in this Case when they came to be the Majority? They were far from shewing the least Dissatisfaction at this Conduct of the M-----r's. They very respectfully put up
with

with an Answer after they were *in*, against which they wou'd have bellow'd had they been still *out*. Thus the Conduct of the New M——ry towards the Nation was exactly the same as that of the old M——r towards his Master. They were both of them very zealous while the Cause was their own ; and carry'd their Points ; but the latter had no sooner an Opportunity of saving himself by exposing his Master, than he left him in the Lurch, and the former no sooner had got themselves serv'd by disporting the M——r, than they laugh'd at the Nation. Every Question that was aim'd personally at the M——r was duly attended to and generally carried ; but when the Question came to be *the Service of the Nation* at the hazard at their own Posts, they either directly oppos'd every single Point, or threw such cold Water on it, that it was not attended, or *practis'd*, to have it carried against themselves.

This is the single Consideration upon which I found all I have to say upon this Subject. I can have no *personal* Objection to any of the Gentlemen employ'd upon the late Change of the M——y ; so far from it, that the Pleasure I had in the Removal of the late M——r was greatly enhanc'd by the Regard and high Opinion I had long entertain'd of their Per-

sons ; nay, it is owing to themselves that I now oppose them, for I drew every Principle upon which I oppose them, from their own Practices, Speeches and Professions.

But it is with a melancholy Concern, that I will venture to affirm to you and the World, in no single Instance have they acted up to the Character they *personated* ; that in every respect they have given up those constitutional Securities themselves so long struggled for, and that I challenge the strongest of their Admirers, and the most Ingenious of all their Advocates, to point out any one Advantage the Nation has got by the Change, more than the mere Reputation she recover'd Abroad by the Removal of a Man who was personally obnoxious to all our Friends and Allies.

Tho' it would look like Affectation to go about to prove this, yet I will mention one or two Instances, and leave them to your and the public Judgment. When all the Demands of the People are summ'd up on the one hand, and the Prerogative of the Crown set forth in its full force on the other, the Difference betwixt both lies in *a good Place Bill*. The People think it their Happiness that they are govern'd by Parliaments, but
their

their Unhappiness is that those Parliaments may be subject to corrupt Influence. They think it their *Duty* always to obey their *Prince*; but their *Privilege* sometimes to oppose his M-----r. An uncorrupted Representation of the Nation can keep Parliaments to their Duty, and strengthen the legal Prerogative of the Prince, by shaking the unconstitutional Influence of his Minister; but all this can be effected no other Way than by a *salutary comprehensive Place-bill*. The Nation has never yet been able to obtain this Security, for what Reasons is too well known for me to mention here. Some Attempts of that kind however were made within the Period I am now describing, but, as usual, without Success. I know it will be said here, by certain Gentlemen and their Friends, that the Success it met with in one House was in great measure owing to their Endeavours. But in Answer to this, give me leave to put a few short Queries.

In the first Place, can they pretend any Man, of the least Experience in public Affairs, ever imagin'd that such a Bill would take Place by any other means, than by making it the Equivalent of somewhat else which is as valuable to the Administration as this Security is to the People. Give me leave to

ask in the second Place, Who parted with the only means to which there could be the least reasonable Prospect of obtaining this Security? Who moved, seconded, speech'd and voted for near *seven Millions of Money*, without the Nations being able to obtain one single Article of those numerous Claims of Rights, for the obtaining of which certain Gentlemen had so long pretended to act? Who voted for near seventy thousand Land-forces being enter'd into the Pay of *Great Britain*, without the People being in one single Instance more secure that such a Force might not be employ'd to bad Purposes, than they were in the Time of the late M—y, and before any farther Declaration of War was made? Who voted against that Measure which alone could render the Enquiry of the C——tee successful, after the Indemnification-Bill was thrown out? but of that more hereafter.

The Facts upon which those Queries are grounded, will easily lead you to conclude, either that the Gentlemen of the New M—y never were sincere in their Endeavours for obtaining Security or Satisfaction to the Nation; or that they were the most wrong-headed Set of Men in the World, by imagining it possible to procure either, without their making the obtaining them the Condition of their granting

granting somewhat else—I shall not say what.
 ———But to proceed from *negative* to *positive* Proofs. Even after the Shadow of a Bill was obtain'd for regulating the Number of Place-men in P——t, to whom was it owing that this Bill was not rendered more effectual? Was it not a Mockery upon the Nation to presume that a Bill, to take Place seven Years after it pass'd, could be any Security to the People? An Ad———on who ventures to vote for such a Bill does not venture the third part so much as the Fellow, who undertook to a King, upon pain of Death, to teach an Ass to play upon a Fiddle, provided he had a handsome Consideration in the mean time. When his Friends came to ask him how he could undertake such an Impossibility? Why, says the Fellow, *You are all Fools, I have made a good Bargain, for its three to one in seven Years time, but that either the Ass, or the King, or I shall be dead.* Such a Bill therefore could be rendered serviceable to the Nation, only by giving it an immediate Comencement, or at least by making it take Place upon every Vacancy of a Seat in the present P———t is claim'd by a Candidate that comes under the Limitation of such a Bill.

But

But let me ask again, who was the first Man that stood up to oppose this reasonable, this unexceptionable Motion? Was it not the very Person who was the first that step'd in to seize the Spoil of the late M——r? The very Person, who, before he was a Mi——r himself, was generally the Hound who open'd the Cry in pursuit of these or the like Measures?

The Repeal of the Septennial Act was another Favourite of the Nation. I will not enter into the Dispute whether the Juncture when this Motion was made was a proper Time, or not, for such a Repeal. It is sufficient to take notice, that the Nation was unanimously and strongly for it; and by that very Maxim of the late Opposition, this single Consideration ought to have determin'd every Gentleman who form'd that Opposition to have espoused it. By their opposing it they have treated that, and all other Measures, as Workmen do the Scaffolding of a Building; they have made use of it to rise to the Pinnacle of Power, and having got there, they have knock'd the Scaffolding down as useless and inconvenient.

The next Instance I shall bring of the Conformity of Principles in those Gentlemen, when *in* and when *out*, is that Vote which
pass'd

pass'd the very next Day after the Repeal of the Septennial Act miscarried, by which the G ————t got five hundred thousand Pounds into their own Hands. When the Message came for this Money, I believe there was not a Man in the House, in the true Interest of his Country, who did not imagine that the Service to which this Money was applicable should be specified, and that it should be entirely dedicated for the immediate Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, without a Possibility for any vague Construction of Words of its being apply'd to Purposes and Services entirely foreign to the Interest of *Great Britain*. If the Words of the Resolution, by which this Money was primarily granted, can be wrested to such a Sense, I will leave it to your Judgment to conclude how consistent this Measure is with that Jealousy of Power which those loud Acclamations, in favour of Public Frugality, which but a few Weeks before distinguish'd our present M——rs as Patriots. I know it has been said, there was an absolute Necessity of supporting the Queen of *Hungary* without Delay: I admit there was; but this very Necessity aggravates the Conduct of those who advised the drawing up a Message in Terms which put her Friends here under the Dilemma of
either

either frustrating the Intention of granting her an immediate Support, or granting it in a Manner as to hazard its being rendered ineffectual for the Purpose design'd.

It is downright Impudence to pretend, that the Liberty which this Motion left to the M——rs in the Application of this Money, had any Influence in the Conduct of a certain Potentate, who has since taken a *wise* and *necessary* Step in favour of that Princess. This agreeable Turn of Affairs must have been effected, I will not say, tho' we had given no Support to the Queen of *Hungary*, but tho' we had not had a Minister, or so much as a Messenger, at any Court in *Europe* when that favourable Event happen'd. For it was long enough after this Motion pass'd that this Potentate redoubled his Efforts to distress the Queen of *Hungary*, by concerting a new and more vigorous Plan of Operations, which terminated in a bloody Battle betwixt their Forces. It was owing to this Battle that his Eyes were at last opened. He saw his own Army ruin'd, his Progress impracticable, his Retreat difficult, his Enemies powerful, and his Allies insincere. He reflected upon the Consequence of the Court of *Russia* declaring in favour of the House of *Austria*, the advantageous Propo-

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sitions of the Court of *Vienna*, and the poor destitute Condition of the Prince whom he had voted to be Head of the Empire. When all those Considerations were before his Eyes, what Necessity can we imagine there cou'd be for either our Gold or our Eloquence? Had he not a Superabundance of Motives besides to determine him to make Peace with the Queen of *Hungary*; and did he listen to any one Suggestion that we offer'd him while it was in his Power to make the least Head against the Court of *Vienna*? Did he not treat our Intercession with *Indifference*, nay, with a *Contempt*, which nothing but the persevering Forbearance of a certain Court would have put up, and which the *natural* Interests of *Great Britain* seem'd to render an Object of *immediate* Resentment? In short, the true State of that Event is this: The Queen of *Hungary*'s Forces and Generals did Wonders; the *French* never were in earnest to aggrandize the King of *Prussia*; he found this out, by dear-bought Experience, and resolved in Self-defence to give them the Slip. So that upon the whole, if any Part of the Money of *Great Britain* went towards making up this Peace, it was a needless and ridiculous Expence.

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I shall make no other Remark upon the four thousand Men, who were smuggled upon us from *Ireland*, than to observe, that it was done at a Time when we could have spared the Number of Forces which we intend now to send to *Flanders*, and yet might have kept for the Defence of the Nation at home more than twice the Number that was in the Nation during the hottest Time of the late War. There is, however, one Piece of Management extreamly unaccountable, with regard to the Manner of raising the new Levies; the most of which, were by raising new Corps: I cannot better illustrate this than by giving an Extract from a Protest of the greatest Authority, enter'd *February 5, 1740*.

“ Because it has been undeniably proved,
 “ that this Method of Augmentation by new
 “ Corps, is, by one third, more expensive
 “ than that of adding private Men to Com-
 “ panies. The Expence of raising those
 “ 5705 Men amounted to 116322 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.*
 “ Whereas 5785 raised by additional Men to
 “ Companies, with a second Lieutenant to
 “ each Company, would have amounted to
 “ but 86902 *l.* 15 *s.* which would be only
 “ a present Saving of 29329 *l.* but a future
 “ Saving of 10134 *l.* *per Annum* upon the
 “ Half-pay of the Officers of those seven Re-
 “ giments,

“ giments, the few Officers taken out of the
 “ Half-pay only excepted. And we think,
 “ that at a Time when the public Expence
 “ is so very considerable, the strictest Oeco-
 “ nomy is requisite, the better to enable a
 “ burthen’d and indebted Nation to continue
 “ those Expences that may be more neces-
 “ sary to be borne than easy to be supply’d :
 “ And as to the Advantage of the Service,
 “ the Facts plainly proved in the Debate,
 “ together with the Practice of most other
 “ Nations in *Europe*, and in particular of
 “ his Majesty’s Electoral Dominions, con-
 “ vinces us, That if this Augmentation was
 “ made by additional Men to Companies,
 “ with a proper Increase of Serjeants and
 “ Corporals, the military Service, at least, for
 “ which alone it was intended, would be
 “ better carried on than by the Methods
 “ now pursued.”

As these Arguments never were attempted
 to be answer’d, there can be no Shadow of
 Reason for augmenting our Army, even sup-
 posing there was Occasion for it, by new
 Corps, excepting the very Reason which
 render’d this Method so very agreeable to the
 late M——r ; I mean the great Parliamen-
 tary Influence, which a Number of new Of-

figers may create. As it was excellently observed by a noble Duke, “ This is an Influence more dangerous to the Nation than the Power and Terror which a Standing-Army itself carries along with it.” I am well persuaded, that had our Patriots, who have since come into play, worn their Patriotisms any other ways than as a Cloak which they were to drop as soon as the Sunshine of a Court should beat upon them, they must have seen and observ’d the Truth of this Maxim. It would be in vain to urge, that they were over-ruled. No Minister, or Servant of the C---n, can be over-ruled ; because if any thing is done contrary to what appears to him for the Interest of the Nation, he may cease to be a Minister, or to act in the immediate Service of the C---n ; and the glorious Precedent that was set them by the noble D——, I have already mention’d, would have prevail’d with any Set of Men who were sincere in their Professions to have followed his Example.

I now come to a Measure upon which a great deal is thought to have depended ; but I shall take the Freedom to consider it in a different Light from what it has, perhaps, hitherto appear’d in, to the Public. The Expectations of the Nation, that full and ample Satisfaction

Satisfaction would be made to the People for the heavy Oppressions they had so long and and so unavailingly complain'd of, were strong and universal. The Cities of *London* and *Westminster* began to signify theirs by very warm Remonstrances, presented to their Representatives immediately upon the Change of the Ministry, and their Example was followed by all the principal Bodies in the Nation. There was at that time a clear Majority of Members in the House of Commons against the late M——r; so that it was in their Power to have proceeded against him in what Manner they had a Mind. It was agreed on all hands, that there was but two Methods of Proceedure; the first, by way of *Committee for enquiring into the Measures of the Administration*; the second, by proceeding upon what appear'd upon the Face of their own Votes and Journals, and was consistent with the Knowledge and Memory of almost every Man in the House.

I own I was very singular in my Opinion by thinking the latter the surest, the quickest, and the fairest; but, the former was carried as the most proper Method. It was carried by the Persuasion, and at the earnest Desire of the Gentlemen who have since come into the Ad———n, and who at that Time had
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the Secret of winning that Confidence with their own Party which the latter have found since, but too good Reason to repent of.

As I said that I was a little singular in my Opinion upon this Subject, I think myself obliged to give you my Reasons. In the third Place, it was notorious that the M——r, notwithstanding his Removal from his Posts, thought himself as much possess'd of Power as ever; this appear'd from several Instances of an unparalel'd Insolence in exercising it. These are too recent to be mention'd here, and the Opportunity that was given him, even after he found it was impossible to retain his Influence in one Place, of stifling all the Evidences of his Guilt in another, amounted almost to a Proof that it would be next to impossible to succeed in an Enquiry, which was to draw its principal Evidence from those Offices, where he preceeded and dictated, even after an Enquiry of some kind or other appear'd inevitable.

Secondly, the Disposal of the public Money even to unwarrantable Purposes, by the proper Officers, and upon Warrants which he always knew to obtain, could not be Ground for such a Charge as the Nation expected and requir'd, unless those unwarrantable Purposes could be clearly prov'd. Because the civil
List

Lift Money being granted without Account, it has never been understood that the Parliament conceiv'd, they had any right to enquire into the Disposal of it, unless an Application was made for Deficiencies. Therefore it is plain that unless a Committee of Secrecy could prove the Purposes to which the Money of the Civil Lift was apply'd, to be subversive of the Constitution, or treasonable in themselves, there would be great Difficulty in founding any Impeachment against a Minister, meerly because so much Money was spent without Account. But how was such Proof to be come at? —Only from those who were privy to the Practices.—But this very Privy makes them criminal. Why then you must admit them as Evidences and indemnify them.—But this can be done only by Act of P——t; and is there any Man at this Time of Day so little remov'd from an Idiot, as to imagine that such an Act will pass? —But if it does not, there must be an End of all Enquiries.—With all our Hearts.

From this short View of the Matter it is plain that a Committee of Enquiry was an exceeding precarious Way of founding a Prosecution of any kind; and the Event has fully justify'd this Opinion. For tho' they
have

have found Matter enough to convince any reasonable Man that great Abuses have been committed in the Revenue, yet it would be exceedingly difficult, upon the Face of any Report yet made, to form a legal Impeachment even for *Misdeameanours*. *Hearsay Evidence*, which appears to be the only Evidence with regard to the Attempts to influence E——ns, and that but in one Instance, would set a dangerous Precedent were it to be gone upon. It would be highly unreasonable to abridge his Majesty of the Power of extending his Charity to those who are represented Objects of it, under whatever Circumstances they may be. It appears from the *Case of Lever* that he was represented to the Gentlemen who procured him the 1500 *l.* from the Threasury as a proper Object of Compassion, nor is that Affair at all brought Home to the Earl of O——d.

As to the Business of the Exchange in paying the Troops, it is a commercial Affair, upon which a great many Disputes may arise. It depends greatly upon the Rate of Exchange at that Time, betwixt *Jamaica* and *London*; and the probability of its rising or falling. The worst therefore that can be made of the whole of that Story is, that it was a low dirty Jobb, and might have done very well to have
made

Honour, the Commerce, and the Property of *Great Britain* was destroy'd in one Day ; a Fact for which the Right Honourable Gentleman, whose Conduct they were enquiring into, render'd himself answerable to P———t, again and again, in Presence of the *Commons of Great Britain* : I mean the CONVENTION. Had they gone upon this Measure, a strong and well-grounded Charge might have been form'd, supported by the best Evidence in the World, *viz.* * the Words of Treaties and the † Declarations of P———t. This had been an Enquiry worthy the Dignity of that august Body, and would have taken up a very short Time in discussing. They had enough upon the Face of their own Votes to have served as Evidence ; and they had a Precedent in the Conduct of the Right Honourable Person himself for impeaching a M———r of High Treason for

* See the Treaty betwixt *Spain* and *Great Britain* in 1667, and that of 1670. See likewise two Pamphlets publish'd 1739, entitled, *Considerations upon the present State of our Affairs*, and *Farther Considerations upon the same*.

† See the Address of the House of Peers, *May* 2d, 1738, near eight Months before the Ratification of the *Convention* with *Spain*, which expressly gives up the Rights there laid down as CLEARLY and UNDOUBTEDLY *belonging to the Subjects of the Crown of GREAT BRITAIN*.

a Treaty

a Treaty even after it had receiv'd a much fuller and more exprefs Approbation from both Houses of Parliament than the *Convention* had ever done.

Thus, Sir, I have given you my Thoughts as to the Conduct of both Parties since the Changes of the M——ry. It would be needless to enter into other Facts, tho' there is a very fair Field open for doing it. Should this Letter meet with Approbation from You and the Public, I shall beg leave to trouble you both with a Second on the same Subject. In the mean time, the late Promotions which have happen'd are the best and fullest Reasons can be given for the Conduct I have been examining. I should be extreamly glad of an Opportunity, from the Behaviour of those Gentlemen who have now arrived at the Top of their Ambition, to retract any Part of the Insinuations in this Letter ; what I have advanced is all upon undeniable Facts, which any Man with the same Attention to them might have represented in much stronger and fuller Terms than I am capable of doing. The Sum of the whole is ; If you are of Opinion, that the Nation has made that noble Opposition to the Current of Corruption which it has done these twenty Years past, for no other End than that a few Men might step into Posts and

Power, you will be in the right to sail with the Tide ; but if this Struggle was made in order to repair those Oversights which have been made at the different Periods of our Constitution, to settle those Rights of the Subject which are not rightly understood, to retrieve those that have been neglected, to acquire those to which they are entitled by Nature, and to secure such as are too liable to Perversion and Abuse : I say, if you are of Opinion that these were the Ends of the mighty Struggle made by the Nation, you will find no manner of Reason for thinking that any of them have hitherto been obtain'd. When the End is not obtain'd the Means ought to continue, which consist in a steady and determined **OPPOSITION**.

F I N I S.

